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(A10)

5/14/94

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DECL:OADR

TO: The Acting Secretary

THROUGH: P - Mr. Tarnoff

FROM: AF - George E. Moose

SUBJECT: Calling the Rwandan Government's Bluff

ISSUE FOR DECISION

Whether you should convoke the Rwandan Ambassador to demand that the Government of Rwanda (GOR) publicly release within 72 hours all the people currently trapped in places of refuge behind GOR lines.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS

The humanitarian tragedy in Rwanda continues to worsen. Reliable estimates are that between 100,000 - 200,000 people have been killed, more than one million displaced, and over 300,000 have fled to refugee camps in neighboring countries. There are two types of violence going on in Rwanda -- the civil war between government troops and those of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), and the indiscriminate killing of civilians by gangs of youths. By far the worst civilian casualties are caused by the Hutu youth gangs and militias, who were organized, at least initially, by the Rwandan government and military officials. While there is no doubt that the RPF has also killed civilians, it is clear that most of the massacres have been conducted by those affiliated with the government, and have taken place in areas under Rwandan government control.

Among those currently at greatest risk in Rwanda are several thousand people who have taken refuge in stadiums in Kigali and Cyangugu and at the King Faisal Hospital and Mille Collines hotel in Kigali. When UNAMIR attempted to evacuate those trapped in the Mille Collines hotel in April, the pro-government radio station broadcast inflammatory messages

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urging people to stop the convoy, thus preventing the evacuation from taking place. These and many thousands of other people remain trapped in fear for their lives, and are living in deplorable conditions.

During a meeting with DAS Bushnell on May 13, Rwandan Ambassador Uwimana denied that the GOR was blocking efforts to evacuate those trapped in places of refuge, maintained that there are no more massacres in GOR-controlled areas, and claimed that civilians are neither being held nor killed by GOR forces. We believe that it is now time to call the GOR's bluff by demanding the immediate evacuation within 72 hours of all those trapped in places of refuge, with UNAMIR forces and international press on hand to provide protection and serve as witnesses to the evacuations. The GOR claims that it is being unfairly charged by the international media with responsibility for the massacres, so offering a chance to free those trapped in places of refuge with international media recording the event will offer the GOR a chance to bolster its image a bit.

This plan is consistent with our goal of stopping the killings in Rwanda. If you agree to go forward with the plan, we believe that you should personally present the idea to Ambassador Uwimana. At the same time, we will need to consult with Ambassador Albright to coordinate with Secretary General Boutros Ghali and UNAMIR Force Commander General Dallaire on the plan. If General Dallaire agrees that the plan is viable and works out the modalities for the evacuations, I will call RPF General Paul Kagame to obtain assurances of that the RPF will implement a ceasefire, or at least a truce, to allow the evacuations to proceed. We will also work with USIA to assure that international media representatives are present to witness the release and to make it more difficult for the GOR to back down.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with Rwandan Ambassador Uwimana to demand the release and evacuation of all Rwandans trapped in places of refuge in GOR-controlled areas.

Approve _____   Disapprove _____

drafted:AF/C:MEGrandfield
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clear:Substance cleared in 5/13/94 Peacekeeping Core Group
       Meeting

       AF/C:ARender
       AF/FO:EBrynn
       IO/PHO:DJensen (subs)
       HA:RPowers
       RP:MLange
       P:BThomas